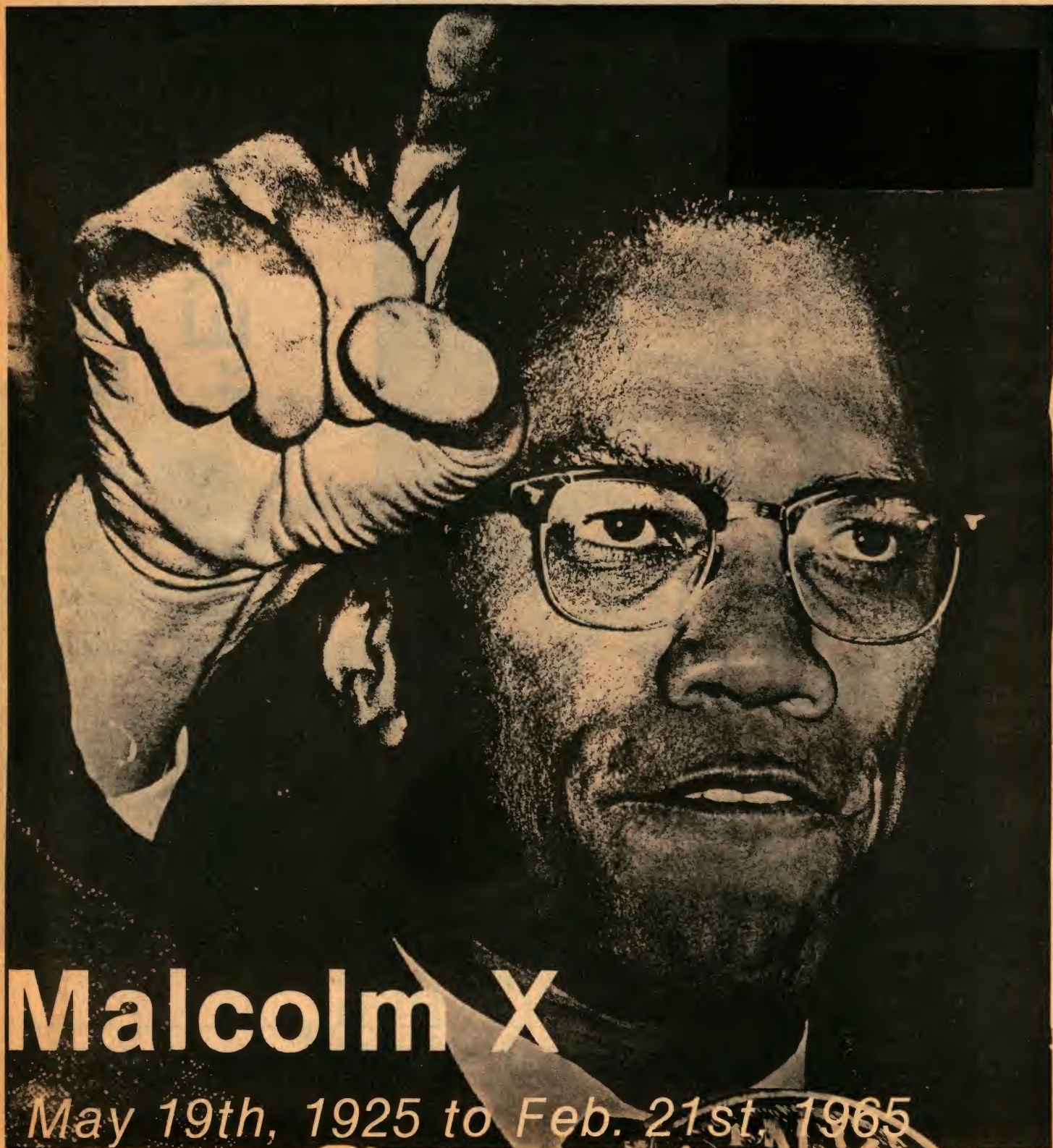


# HERMES

February 23, 1982



## Malcolm X

*May 19th, 1925 to Feb. 21st, 1965*

# Apartheid and the Reagan Administration

## Building New Bonds of Solidarity

By Jennifer Tucker

The oppression of Blacks in South Africa today, is the most horrifying and dramatic example of institutionalized racism — racism condoned by the current administration. Blacks, comprising 74% of the population, receive 13% of the land and live in a state of deprivation and exploitation. The constitutionally mandated racism inherent in Apartheid aims at denying Blacks all political and economic rights for purposes of reserving them as cheap labour to serve the White minority. Apartheid was instituted in 1948, when the Nationalist Party gained power. Its complex set of laws aims at separating the races, establishing so-called "Independent Homelands" for Blacks, and keeping total control by Whites.

The United States Government has always maintained open relations with the Apartheid regime, but the change to the Reagan administration brought with it a change in U.S. foreign policy toward South Africa. President Carter, in accordance with his human rights policies, criticized the regime for its deplorable system, yet continued relations with it. Reagan's policies, on the other hand, fall under the catchwords "constructive engagement." It comes as no surprise that Reagan shakes hands with Botha, and this indeed seems consistent with our nation's shift to the Right. Pretoria seems pleased with the results. As Reagan's cuts in social services and his simultaneous increases in defense spending benefit the business world, U.S. multinationals manufacture arms for Apartheid under the guise of "working for change" in South Africa, funneling them through Israel.

The Reagan administration and businesses operating in South Africa believe they can be a progressive force for Blacks. Many companies endorse the Sullivan principles, established by Leon Sullivan, a Black board member of G.M. These six principles include cosmetic changes such as desegregated washrooms and equal pay for equal work. Equal pay for equal work, however, cannot exist in South Africa because of the Job Colour Bar, which guarantees jobs according to color. The extent to which companies can work for change in South Africa is a much debated topic. Some argue that increased investment is incompatible with Apartheid because it creates a shortage of skilled White labor, for which Blacks will have to be trained.

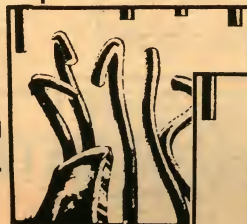
One should not expect Reagan to view South Africa outside of East-West relations, any more than he does El Salvador or Angola. U.S. interests in South Africa must be protected from Soviet encroachment and the dreaded tendency towards socialism in the Third World. (The Cape Sea Coast is of strategic importance for U.S. importation of oil.):

*We are concerned about the Soviet Union and its surrogates in Africa. The Soviets seek to exploit for their own ends existing differences and actual conflict, and they seek to create and sustain situations of conflict from which they can profit. They are aided in these efforts by their client states, such as Cubans and East Germans, but also less traditional partners who also pursue their own aims to the detriment of their neighbors. We must counter the Communists wherever they exist, and take sides with all those consistent with our aims.*

Chester Crocker, Asst. Sec'y of State

Reagan's human rights policy is consistent with South Africa's; South Africa neither supports human rights, nor is it democratic.

Reagan also supports the South African Government as a force for regional economic stability, though, in fact, South Africa's policy is destabilizing. According to the Washington Office on Africa, Botha seeks to destabilize landlocked countries such as Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, forcing them to become dependent on South Africa.



MFP/cpf

In response, these countries have established the Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC). South Africa has also broken trade contracts and acted in such a way to destabilize Zimbabwe and Mozambique, while even raiding Angola. (The U.S. vetoed a U.N. resolution to condemn the action). To make Zimbabwe further dependent, South Africa withdrew 24 diesel locomotives and railway technicians which they had loaned during Muzarewe's time in power. South Africa also invaded Mozambique on January 30, 1981. In response, Mozambique expelled six Americans accused of engaging in covert CIA activities.

The most crucial role which the U.S. plays in South Africa involves the settlement of the Namibia question. Namibia has been an issue involving the United Nations, the rest of Africa, and the West since 1966. At that time the U.N. General Assembly declared an end to the League of Nations' mandate over the territory. Since then, Namibia has been governed as an integral part of

South Africa while the official language of Namibia is Afrikaans: over 80,000 South African citizens reside in Namibia. The U.S. has been involved with Great Britain, Canada, France and West Germany since 1978 as a U.N. group meeting to discuss the Namibia question with the South African government.

The U.S. has monopolized the settlement procedures for Namibia in the following way: all parties involved must accept the principles adopted by the U.S. and contact group for any agreements reached on the format of the transition period, during which time popular elections to a constituent assembly will approve a constitution by 2/3 vote. The United States has stated that it will not act on the Namibia issue until Cuban troops are removed from Angola.

While the crunch falls on Americans because of Reagan's domestic policies, black South Africans endure hardening policies as their government's Western friend shifts from open criticism toward "constructive engagement." Unfortunately South Africa is currently viewed in U.S.-Soviet terms which plays into the hands of the Nationalist party, a staunch opponent of communism. One cannot say when change will come to South Africa, but unless the U.S. becomes more critical and joins with the U.N. in introducing economic sanctions, the situation of Black South Africans will be exacerbated and the likelihood of change through the political system will become almost nil.



Andy Redrick/L.N.S.



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This issue of *Hermes* on Black culture and issues was initiated and coordinated by Carleton Bernswell and Rick Goldstein. *Hermes* would like to thank them for their effort.

Thanks also to Vashti Du Bois for her help.

If you are interested in editing *Hermes* next year or becoming a staff member, join us now so we can show you the ropes. If you haven't the time this semester, then at least drop by our office and leave a note in the submissions envelope, or leave a note in box "A" Wesleyan Station. We look forward to meeting you!

#### A FEW THINGS IN LIFE ARE MEANT TO BE FREE

They think me wood  
I think me better  
Highly adept at games of camouflage  
I blend in  
I move as Nature moves  
And retain my true colours, still

They think me wood  
I think me better  
Stay in noiseless confusion  
I move as Nature  
And raise my wayward head like weeds in someone's precious garden

They think me wood  
But I think me better  
Catch the wind in my wings  
I'm off!

Oh, mighty lord, help me  
For they have my feet...

Alphonso Smith

#### LETTER

Hello—  
Liked your list of alternative publications. One correction: *Growing without Schooling's* address is now 729 Boylston, not 308. Anyone who wants to know more about the newsletter is welcome to contact me. (I have back issues).

Jeanine Hardison  
Box 260

WESPEACE MEETINGS: SUNDAY, 7 P.M. 113 Fisk.

Hours that the WOMEN'S STUDIES OFFICE is open and staffed this semester:  
Monday 10:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m.  
Tuesday 10:30 am-2:30 pm  
Wednesday 10:00 am-1:00 pm  
Thursday 12:30 pm-4:30 pm  
Friday 11:00am-3:00 pm

The office is located in the basement of the English Department (285 Court St.) ext. 2660.

## Upcoming Events

#### FEBRUARY

23 Film: "Richard Pryor Live in Concert". Show times at 7:00, 9:00 and 11:00pm at 150 Science Center.

24 Professor Gloria Joseph, author of *Common Differences: Conflicts in Black and White Feminist Perspectives*, will speak in the Marcus Garvey Lounge in Malcolm X house at 4:30 pm.

25 Gospel concert in the Chapel 8-10 pm. (With Ebony Singers and other gospel groups)

26 Poetry reading by Haddeth Gossett in World Music Hall at 8:00 pm.

27 Movie, "Young Lords", 1:30 pm, 58 Science Center. Sponsored by Ajua Campos.

Serious Biz (performers of contemporary Freedom Music) 7-11 pm, Woodhead Lounge.

# ANNOUNCEMENTS

## Announcements

UP FOR GRASS!! with Wesleyan's finest bluegrass music, will be giving a benefit concert, together with Ed Roseman, for the American Friends Service Committee. Come and relax, listen to good music and support a great cause. Tuesday, February 23rd, at 9 pm downstairs in Downey House. \$1.00 donation.

The Women's Studies Program and the Center for Afro-American Studies invite you to come hear

Gloria Joseph, professor in the School of Social Sciences at Hampshire College, speak on

COMMON DIFFERENCES: CONFLICTS IN BLACK AND WHITE FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES

Wednesday, February 24, at 4:30 pm  
Marcus Garvey Lounge, Malcolm X House

Gloria Joseph, author of the recently published book of the same title as her talk, has also written for many periodicals, including *Journal of Afro-American Studies*, *Educational Opportunity Forum*, and *The Bill of Rights Journal*. She has contributed to two books, *Women in Revolution*, and *Comparative Perspectives of Third World Women*, and was the producer of the photographic essay: *Caribbean Women: Impact of Race, Sex, and Class*.

A reception will follow.

The College of Letters will present a talk by Jane Marcus from the Dept. of English at the University of Texas at Austin, on Thursday, February 25th, at 4 pm in the College of Letters Lounge. Her talk will be entitled "Liberty, Sorority, Misogyny" and it will be about Virginia Woolf's political response to the politics of the 19th-century Stephens and to the Cambridge Apostles.

#### Racial Awareness Group

A racism awareness group will meet at 4:30, Thursday, February 25 (first meeting) in Room 143 Science Center. This group will confront attitudes toward blacks and address Afro-American History. Films and open workshops to get Wesleyan students talking about these issues are possibilities. If you are unsatisfied with this description of such a group or cannot make the Thursday meeting, please call Amy 347-4048 or drop a note in my box: 1269.

Are you interested in helping in the formation of a men's community here at Wesleyan?

If you are, please come to an organizational meeting on Thursday, Feb. 25th at 4:30 pm, 69 High St. (Ecology House). This meeting will be held to organize and coordinate men's support groups, discuss the possibility of bringing in speakers, movies or initiating other activities. Also, it can be used to organize a newsletter or information column in one of the campus publications to give a larger voice to men's issues and help break up public-private dichotomies. If you're frustrated about the lack of a visible and active men's support network on campus, please come and lend a hand.



## Wesleyan Goes to Washington

...to lobby for financial aid on March 1st, National Student Lobby Day. Buses will leave 1:00 am, March 1st and return 24 hours later. Tickets will cost \$22 and can be charged to your student account. Also, write letters to congress people to urge support for federal financial aid programs. Come to these events to find out more:

TUESDAY, FEB. 23. Wine and cheese letter writing party and bus sign-up at Alpha Delta Phi.

THURSDAY, FEB. 25. The Grand Opening of the Beta Theta Phi Coffeehouse will have letter writing tables and bus sign-up.

FRIDAY, FEB. 26. Butterfingers Kahlua Night with letter writing. Free Kahlua in shakes and on sundaes for letter writers.

SUNDAY Feb. 28 in Woodhead Lounge—Slide Show and Discussion on El Salvador. Everyone Welcome. Call Andy Tauber for details.

#### MARCH

4 Professor Levine, author of *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, will speak at the Honors College at 4:00 pm.

ALL—AFRICAN WEEKEND  
THURS MARCH 4 John Stockwell, ex-CIA agent in Angola

FRI MARCH 5 SWAPO representative and 2 short films

SAT MARCH 6 panel: regional African issues; Randall Robinson, TransAfrica

SUN MARCH 7 First World Poets

PROGRESSIVE STUDENT CAUCUS MEETING  
THURSDAY MARCH 4, 5 P.M. 222 Fisk Hall. All group delegates urged to attend.

It is boringly obvious that the contemporary women's movement, in the course of its approximately twelve year history, has been, and still is dominated by white middle-class women. There are, of course, women of color who are organizing separately around issues important to them, issues which are seldom, if ever, addressed by the rest of the movement. Yet it is fair to say that white women not only predominate numerically but that the whole "cultural tone" of the movement remains "white." Decisions are made in ways that are comfortable to white women, communications and actions are carried out in a "white way" with the women doing this usually oblivious to the fact, and the different issues of sexist discrimination which are brought up are usually only addressed on the level which they affect the experience of middle-class white women. In recent years, the opinion has been forming and is now crystallizing, the women's movement will soon be, or is already incapable of ever promoting better and equal social and economic conditions for anyone unless the racism manifested in it is examined and challenged, both in the organizations that make up the movement and in individual feminists. The ways in which white feminists have failed to acknowledge and responsibly deal with the racially determined social

political order, educational systems, and media.<sup>1</sup> As Judith Moschovitch puts it: "It's a sort of cultural isolationism, a way of life enforced on the people in this country so as to let them have a free conscience with respect to how they deal with the rest of the world or with subcultures in America."

Think of it in terms of men's and women's cultures: women live in male systems, know male rules, speak male language when around men, etc. But what do men really know about women? Only screwed up myths concocted to perpetuate the power imbalance. It's the same situation when it comes to dominant and non-dominant or colonizing and colonized cultures/countries/people. As a bilingual/bicultural woman whose native culture is not American, I live in an American system, abide by American rules of conduct, speak English when around English speakers, etc., only to be confronted with utter ignorance or concocted myths and stereotypes about my own (Latin) culture.

—Judith Moschovitch, "—But I Know You, American Women" in *This Bridge Called My Back*, p.80.

One result of this ignorance in the (white) women's movement about women of other cultures and social/economic backgrounds has been that while a

found to overcome the difficulty women of different races have in dealing with each other respectfully, sensitively, and non-fearfully. But white women especially must take the initiative, must begin to acknowledge and work on issues that are important to women of color, to fight racism on an institutional as well as a personal level. If this does not happen, the women's movement will not grow and will be just another set of white racist organizations which serve to perpetuate the present economic and social order.

Who can pinpoint exactly where racism comes from? There are certain political dogmas that are excellent in their "analysis" of racism and how it feeds the capitalist system.

*Separatism is not a practical strategy for most women of color because it puts them in a position of vulnerability to threats from sources that white women are not confronted with in their lives. White feminists generally fail to see the complexity of women of color's lives, fail to see that there are issues other than those of sexist discrimination that women of color of necessity must address.*

# Racism and the Women's Movement

## The Challenge of Black Feminists and Radical Women of Color to White Feminists

and economic privileges they hold over women of color are being called into question. Impetus for recognizing racism in the women's movement has always come primarily from feminists of color, and although white feminists have been professing understanding, only a few have started to seriously examine on a deeper, emotional level what racism really is.

Ever since I first became involved in the women's movement, which was not that long ago (four and half years), racism has been one of the "things" on the list of the "Three Big Oppressions" which so often get chanted off rhetorically, perhaps in the hope that naming them will get rid of them. ("If we smash sexism, classism, and racism, we'll all be liberated!") Over time, the theoretical connection between sexism and racism became increasingly more clear to me, more connected to a real (economic/material) situation than a rhetorical situation, but sexism remained the

coherent history and analysis of the position of white Western women has been developing in leaps and bounds since the late 60's, much less has been done to uncover and document the lives and history of Afro-American, Asian-American, Latina, Native American, and other women of color in this country. Studies, books, and school courses which are supposedly about the experience of all American women devote little time to the history of women of color in this country—for example, to the experience of Black women under slavery. Admittedly, very little first hand documentation of such experiences survive (and it is not hard to figure out why), but further inquiry into these areas could certainly be made and analyses that speak directly to the situations of the different groups of women of color could be developed. In fact such theories are emerging, and, not surprisingly, at the impetus of the groups of Third World feminists which began to

To intellectually understand that it is wrong or politically incorrect to be racist leaves me cold. A lot of poor or working class white and brown people are just as racist as the "capitalist pig." We are all continually pumped with gross and inaccurate images of everyone else and we all pump it out. I don't think there are easy answers or formulas. My personal attempts at eliminating my racism have to start at the base level of those mind-sets that inhibit my relationships with people.

—Barbare Cameron, "Gee, You Don't Seem Like 'An Indian from a Reservation' in this *Bridge Called My Back*, p.49.

Of all the mind-sets which inhibit white women's relationships with people, specifically with people of color, the mind-set which forms the largest block is the tremendous distance from and fear of non-white people that they feel both when they think of these people as a group and often when they are with them as individuals. These mind-sets are difficult and painful to face up to. When they are really looked at, they seem so awful, so totally irrational that it is usually easier not to explore and identify them, to let them go, which, in effect, means to let them continue in their insidious work. What follows is a Black woman's perception of how white women react to Black women.

By way of brief clarification, we experience white feminists and their organizations as elitist, crudely insensitive, and condescending. Most of the feminist groups in this country are examples of this elitism. . . . It is also apparent that white feminists still perceive us as the "Other," based on a mental or sexual image: as more sensual, but less cerebral; more interesting, perhaps, but less intellectual; and more oppressed, but less political than they are. (If you need specific examples of this, think about your own experiences with them.)

continued on pg. 6

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*White feminists (including myself) can only in a very, very removed way imagine making cooperative alliances with all men as a group, or the day that women and men will be equal and we won't have to be wary and mistrusting of them. But we must also realize that as long as an economic/social order which is racist as well as sexist exists, white women automatically are in a racially determined position of privilege over women of color. Until racism is finally gone, women of color should be suspicious of us as potential and actual wielders of this privilege.*

phenomenon which I, as an economically privileged white woman, could most directly and immediately recognize. I did not really look very deeply at how racism actually might feel, I never felt that I could be connected, somehow, to the experience that lay behind the word.

There was (and still is) a lot of talk about us, the (white) feminists needing to make connections with Black women, women of color, Third World women, but this was mostly in the form of an issue that would get raised at the end of a meeting and to which we would all nod our heads and say (quite sincerely but unfortunately not deeply or thoughtfully enough), "Yes, this is very important. We need to do something about it." One group that I was in decided that one approach to the problem was to put up posters in Spanish in addition to our regular ones in English announcing our events all over the city. We knew in our guts that this would not bring in women of color (specifically Hispanic women). But we never did any self questioning about what might have been keeping these women away, what it was about our group that kept it so white, and why, indeed, these women needed to join us, rather than us join them.

Part of the reason for the obliviousness of white feminists to the life situations and needs of the various groups of women of color has been simply that ignorance of non-white cultures, both in this country and elsewhere, is encouraged and perpetuated by the U.S.

coalesce and become increasingly visible in the late 70's. What started as a steadily growing number of workshops on Third World women and on issues of racism at feminist events and conferences, usually initiated and run by women of color and the publication of special issues of established feminist journals devoted to work on and by women of color, has burst, in the last year, into a whole number of books and anthologies by Black feminists and other radical women of color. (See the list at the end of the article.)

These new works are invaluable because they provide access to a broad range of material on the lives and history of women of color in the U.S. The information in them is useful for different groups of women of color seeking to gain understanding about and set up lines of communication between each other as well as for white women seeking to come to terms with their ignorance of other cultures and the ways in which they act or think in a racist manner.

As a white feminist, the most striking and motivating aspect of these books to me was the way they pull together and clarify the sometimes quite scathing critique of racist white feminist consciousness. They present a challenge to all feminists, white feminists especially, to examine in a deep, emotional, and transforming way the racism inside ourselves; They point to what the implications of not dealing with this will be for the feminist movement as a whole. Ways must be



The Call/cpf

# The End of Aid Blind

by ALLYSON REID

Wesleyan University, noted as one of the first major universities to institute the policy of "aid-blind" admissions, has recently announced the end of aid-blind admissions here.

In the past, admission to Wesleyan was accessible to any qualified applicant, regardless of his or her financial need. With the new change in policy, admissions personnel will look at the first 90% of the applications without regard

This change in policy is of significant concern to the minority community at Wesleyan. In the midst of Black History month, we may be seeing the beginning of a financially "elitist" trend among prestigious universities. Although the Budget Advisory Committee's *Final Report and Recommendations of the Budget Advisory Committee on Wesleyan's Financial Aid Program* states throughout that "special atten-

While Cunningham said that elimination of aid blind is "not a blue print from the future," and that he "didn't have a sense that the 90% factor would influence the student population," he also noted that, in the future, there might be a reduction of applications to Wesleyan among students who need financial aid.

Wesleyan University President Colin G. Campbell insists that Wesleyan is "a

## Colin Campbell Reaffirms the "Liberal Education's" Role in Opposing Racial Oppression

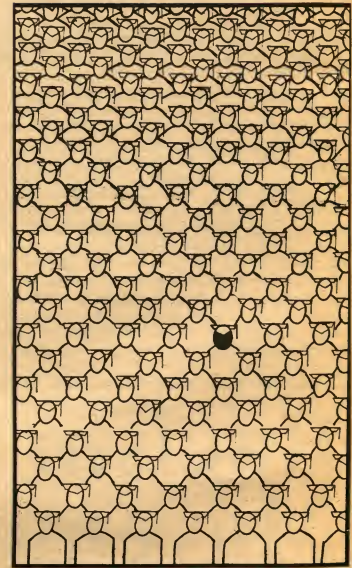
for financial need. If after this point, financial aid monies have been exhausted, the remaining 10% of the applications will be judged upon the student's ability to pay full tuition at Wesleyan.

tion be given in these reviews to our ability to honor our commitment to maintain a strong minority presence on this campus," this prospect seems doubtful when minority applicants for future academic years learn that they may be denied admission to Wesleyan on the basis of financial need.

According to Director of the Financial Aid Program Jerome P. Cunningham, the Financial Aid Office at Wesleyan has been in existence for 14 years. Cunningham said that minority recruitment also began at this time. "It's almost like they coincided," he remarked. Currently, 21% of the financial aid recipients at Wesleyan are minorities.

far stronger committed (to the aid-blind admissions policy) institution than many of our peers." "We still have one of the strongest financial aid programs in the country," stated Campbell. When asked how a "strong minority presence" would still be maintained at Wesleyan despite changes in the aid-blind admissions policy, Campbell said that "specific consideration would be given to minority students through active recruiting and admission consideration."

As for aid-blind admission at Wesleyan in the future? "My aspiration for Wesleyan is that we return to aid blind," said Campbell. "It depends on what happens with the federal programs. It would be a mistake to promise . . ."



by ROGER BLISSETT

The first American freed slaves landed at Providence Island, Liberia in 1822. This marks the beginning of African-American emigration to Africa. Liberia was an attempt by the U.S. at colonizing a part of West Africa. "Blacks" were used to colonize the area because of their physical adaptability to the region. It was also believed that because of their relation to Africans it would be easier for them to rule while still being loyal to the U.S.

Emigration becomes dramatic when one begins to envision the entire race being involved. This would entail a complete restructuring of American society. It is this quality that caused Delany, Blyden, Turner, and Garvey to stand out in the annals of African-American emigration.

One of the first people who incorporated the idea of emigration in their ideology was Martin Robinson Delany. Born in Charlestown, Virginia in 1812, he became a major and medical officer in the United States colored troops division of the Union army during the Civil War. Delany served in the Freedmen's Bureau for three years during Reconstruction and later became a trial judge in Charlestown. He advocated the emigration of freedmen to Latin America and the Caribbean.



# Black Revolutionary Past

## Emigration and Pan-Africanism

We have one hundred thousand able bodied freedmen, which will make a powerful auxiliary in any country to which we became adopted-an ally not to be despised by any power on Earth. We love our country, dearly love her, but she doesn't love us-she despises us and bids us begone, driving us from her embraces, but we shall not go where she desires us; but when we do go, whatever love we have for her, we shall love the country none the less that receives us as her adopted children. (Martin R. Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of Colored People of the United States*, p. 203).

Delany believed that this would give freemen the opportunity to build nations with people of African descent in these regions. These nations would then be able to pressure the U.S. to free her slaves. Delany also thought of establishing a settlement in East Africa and led the Niger Valley Exploring Party in 1859. He was proud of this royal African ancestry and had abounding confidence in the ability of his race. His ideas and programs did not come to fruition but did lay the foundation for other emigration movements. Delany died in 1885.

Edward Wilmot Blyden was born in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands in 1832. He came to the U.S. as a youth to study theology but was refused admittance to several theological colleges because he was "black". In 1851, he and his brother went to Liberia. There he became an educator and later a diplomat.

Blyden dedicated most of his long life to building Liberia. "Blyden...had devoted his whole life to the strengthening of Liberian society and to preparing the intellectual and spiritual ground work for a black renaissance in Africa and diaspora" (Jacob Drachler, ed. *Black Homeland/Black Diaspora*, p. 51). His commitment to this was to ensure that African-Americans had a place they could call home. He became obsessed with racial purity and strongly campaigned against mulattos, seeing them as the enemy of "Negroes" both in Liberia and the diaspora.

His study of Hebrew culture led him to see the similarities in the struggles of both the Jews and "Negroes". He was greatly impressed with the Zionist movement. His pamphlet "The Jewish Question" (1898) championed the claims of Jews to Palestine. He recommended that Jews settle in Africa and make their contribution to the solution of African problems as a "kindred" people.

There was a trickle of emigration throughout the century but it wasn't until 1870 that the cry for mass emigration rang out. This cry came from Bishop McNeal Turner who was born a freedman in Abbeville, South Carolina in 1833. After being tutored by an Episcopal bishop, he turned to the church, becoming an African Methodist Episcopal minister. During the Civil War he became the first "Negro" chaplain assigned to a Union Army Regiment.

continued on pg. 5



Hermes is a biweekly publication of the Wesleyan Community. Deadlines for submission are the Monday one week before publication for articles, and Thursday of that week for announcements. Submissions should be typed double spaced on 8 1/2" by 11" paper, and can be put in Hermes Box 'A', handed to an editor, or put in the submission envelope on the door of the Hermes office [second floor, Housing office]. Staff meetings for an issue are on Monday at 8:00 at night for planning, Thursday night at 8:00 for organization, and Sunday afternoon at 1:00 for layout.

continued from pg. 4

Later while working with the Freedman's Bureau he defended the rights of "Negroes" when the Georgian legislative attempted to bar them from holding state offices. Seeing that "the Negro had no manhood future in the United States" (Wilhelmon Robinson, Historical Negro Biographies, p. 113), he became a firm advocate of emigration. In 1870 he called for the emigration of a select group of skilled and resourceful "blacks" to build a powerful new nation in Africa. He believed that "their example would lend strength to black men everywhere by showing conclusively that blacks were not inferior to whites in ability, virtue, or power" (Nathan Huggins, ed. Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, p. 110).

It was not until 1890 that his ideas of mass emigration took root in the oppressive political and economic environment that existed in the U.S. The growth in lynchings and violent crimes against African-Americans increased the appeal of emigration. The depression of the early 1890's, however, made it difficult to finance the necessary transportation and the movement slowly lost momentum. He continued supporting and organizing emigration groups until his death in 1915.

Efforts toward mass emigration did not surface again until the appearance of Marcus Garvey in 1919. Garvey was born in Jamaica, West Indies in 1887. While studying in London he developed a conviction for African nationalism. Upon coming to the U.S. in 1916 he organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA).

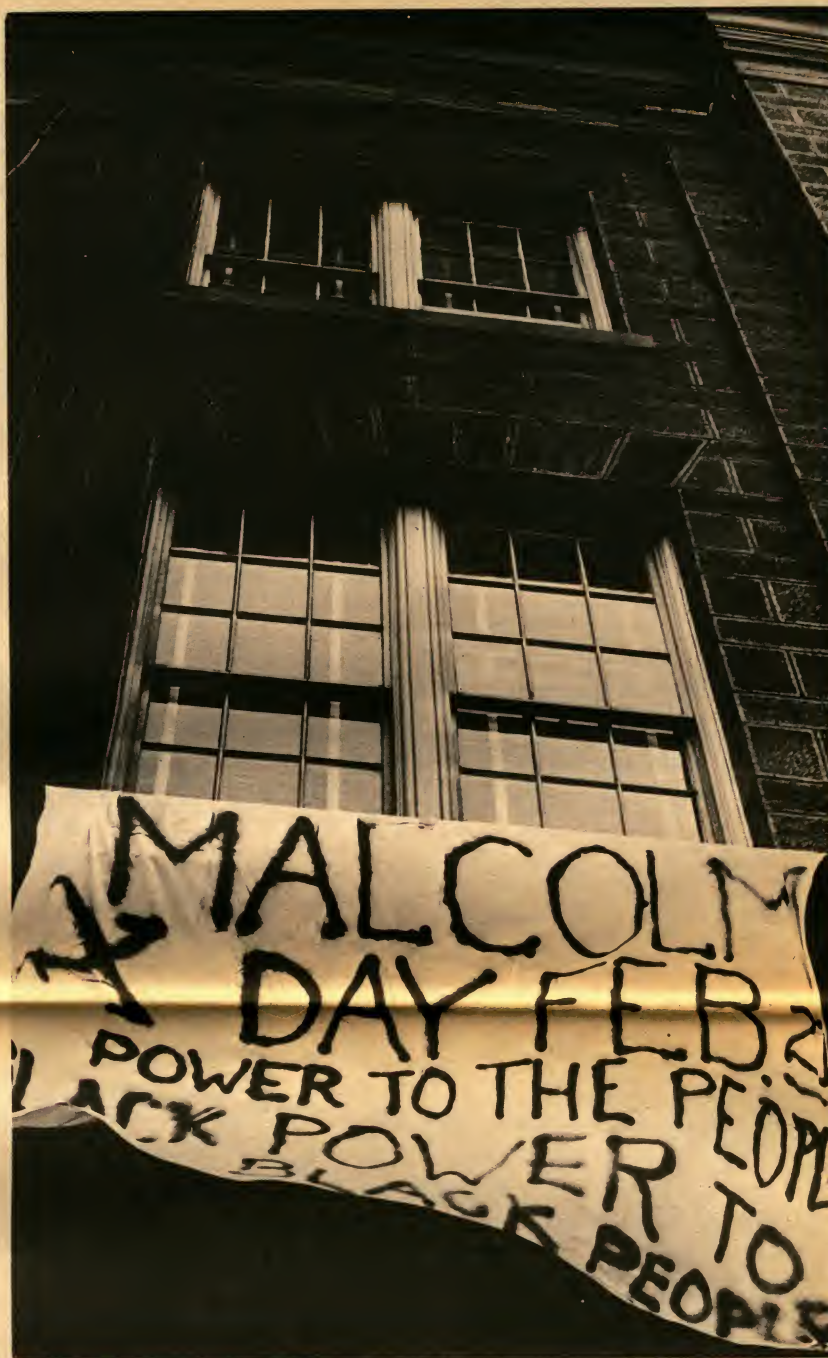
Garvey's style and charisma attracted many people of African descent throughout the diaspora; in 1920, he claimed four million dues-paying members and by 1923, six million. Mishandling of the organization's funds by top UNIA officials led to Garvey's imprisonment on charges of mail fraud. This brought the demise of the movement. Garvey died in 1940 being the best known advocate of "back to Africa" movements.

Emigration is but half the story when reviewing the role Africa has played in African-american liberation movements. Africa is an integral part of Pan-Africanism ideology. W.E.B. Dubois, born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts in 1869, is considered the father of Pan-Africanism in this country. Dubois attended Fisk, Harvard, and the University of Pennsylvania before heading both the departments of history and economics at Atlanta University. He wrote books, articles, and poems in his fight against discrimination and economic exploitation of "Negroes." He was one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The NAACP approaches solving the problem of African-Americans through the judicial process. Dubois modified his ideology during his long life to include Africa and all Africans throughout the world. In 1919 he organized the first of several Pan-African congresses in Paris. These conferences focused on the conditions and status of "blacks" all over the globe.

"Dubois in pioneering the Pan-African idea, saw it as the centralization of race effort and the recognition of a racial fount." (Drachler, p. 76).

He struggles throughout the rest of his life to create a viable effective and ongoing Pan-African Congress. His racial pride was not a part of the force that motivated him to study and write about Africa, to initiate Pan-African conferences, and to emigrate to Africa in his last years. His ever closer identification with Africa grew out of a desire for "pro-Negro" propaganda and the need for images of racial self-respect. Beyond this there was the promise of political leverage in the agitation of anti-imperialistic issues and in the formation of overseas allies. Dubois died in Ghana in 1963 as editor-in-chief of the *Encyclopedia Africana*.

Pan-Africanism did not surface again until the appearance of Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). Malcolm X (Malcolm Little) was born in Omaha, Nebraska in 1925. The murder of his father by the Klan left his family in ruins. While living with his aunt in Boston he began flirting with crime.



His involvement in small-time hustling led to his arrest and conviction in 1946. While in prison he became a follower of the Honorable Elijah Mohammad. By 1962 he became a prominent minister in the Nation of Islam.

Malcolm X became disenchanted with Elijah Mohammad; realizing his own gifts of leadership, he left the Nation of Islam in 1964. His desire to reach a larger non-Muslim constituency motivated him to form the secular OAAU. The organization's aims were very similar to those of Dubois's Pan-African Congress. Malcolm X and the OAAU urged the leaders of newly independent African Nations to bring the U.S. to the United Nations on charges of violating African-Americans' human rights. The OAAU died prematurely with the assassination of Malcolm X on February 21, 1965. His influence on African-American youth is still felt today.

African-American emigration movements were arrogant in assuming that they were to be the architects of a new African Nation. These movements envisioned African-American settlers as the salvation of native Africans. Delany exhibits this by the way he describes the aid that freedmen could give any nation that adopted them. This condescending attitude is also displayed by Blyden's commitment to have Africans converted to Christianity by "good God-fearing Negroes." Even Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Dubois and Malcolm X retained some stereotypes about Africa and Africans. Bishop Turner used the establishment of an African nation by African-Americans to demonstrate that "blacks" were not inferior to whites. In each case the establishment of an African Nation is used to vent frustration created by the oppression of African-Americans in this country.

The inception of Pan-Africanism in African-American liberation movements puts Africa in a new light. African and other people of African heritage around the world are viewed as allies rather than just mere benefactors of "resourceful" African-Americans. Pan-Africanism attempts to show the similarity in the struggles of all people of African descent.

Both "emigrationists" and "pan-africanists," however, look to Africa as a power base. The unification of both Africa and its people represents cultural, spiritual, physical and economic power, which both types of movements recognized.

All of these ideologies have painted a utopian image of Africa. These images are born out of the struggles of African-Americans. Freedom has taken different forms in African-American history. In both "emigrationist" and "pan-africanist" movements Africa represents freedom. By becoming a representation of freedom Africa became a utopia.

Africa was also idealized because of the resistance to believing the negative impressions cast by white historians. The rebellion against these images caused many African-American leaders to create their own stereotypes. This is illustrated by the arrogance that many leaders displayed toward establishing an African Nation.

Although the utopian image constructed of Africa is a response to white America, it is also a result of a need to belong. This internal yearning for acceptance and self-dignity has been a strong force in creating an identification with Africa.

These reasons and conducive conditions have played an important role in justifying why Africa represents the solution to the oppression of African-Americans. ■

# Black Feminism

continued from pg. 3

When we attend a meeting or gathering of theirs, we are seen only one of two limited or oppressive ways: as being white-washed and therefore sharing all their values, priorities, and goals, etc.; or, if we (even accidentally) mention something particular to the experience of black wimmin, we are seen as threatening, hostile, and subversive to their interests. So when I say racist, these are some of the things I mean. I know this, and so do many white feminists. Because of their one-dimensional and bigoted ideas, we are not respected as feminists or wimmin. Their perverse perceptions of black wimmin mean that they continue to see us as "inferior" to them, and therefore treat us accordingly.

-Doris Davenport, "The Pathology of Racism: A Conversation with Third World Wimmin" in *This Bridge Called My Back*, p.86.

Davenport also has an interesting insight into the sources of such reactions and the reasons that the white women's movement as a whole is racist.

Anyone familiar with the literature and psychology of an oppressed or colonized group knows that as they initially attempt to redefine themselves, they react. Their immediate mental, spiritual, and physical environment is chaotic and confused. The fact is, white wimmin are oppressed; they have been "colonized" by white boys, just as third world people have. Even when white wimmin "belonged" to white boys... they belonged as objects and were treated as such. (As someone else has noted, the original model for colonization was white wimmin.) Nobody has yet sufficiently researched or documented the collective psychology of oppressed white wimmin. So consider this as a thesis: they know. And so do I. The reality of their situation is the real pits. Lately, having worked free of the nominal and/or personal control of white boys, white wimmin are desperately reactionary. As a result, they identify with and encourage certain short-sighted goals and beliefs... as a reactionary oppressed group they exhibit a strange kind of political bonding or elitism, where white wimmin are the only safe or valid people to be with; all others are threatening. Clearly, this state of mind is a political dead end, and the reasons for it stem from their great confusion.

In other words, their elitism and narrowminded rigidity are defense mechanisms and that, in part, is why they create "alternative" for themselves and put up psychological signs saying white women only.

-Doris Davenport, p. 89.

I think that what she is saying is true about most, if not all, white feminists, especially as they are first exposed to feminism and start to see, as they have not

**White women especially must take the initiative, must begin to acknowledge and work on issues that are important to women of color, to fight racism on an institutional as well as a personal level. If this is not to happen, the woman's movement will not grow and will be just another set of white racist organizations which serve to perpetuate the present economic and social order.**

before, the damaging effects of sexism in their lives. men are usually the first thing to be excluded from their lives, or while the nature of their relationship with men is undergoing transformation, men are temporarily shut out, because men are so much the direct source of personal oppression in women's lives. Without men around, women have time to deal on their own with the ways sexism has scarred them, made them feel and act like inferior people. What happens is that a lot of white women get self-righteously stuck on the idea that this stance of separation is the most politically advanced state to be in. They fail to see that even though it is extremely crucial to be able to love yourself as a woman and to be able to love other women, to reclaim and empower what it means to be a woman, that this separatism is not a productive long-term political strategy, that it cannot accomplish anything in the way of making concrete economic, social, and political changes. You can still live without having any men for your friends, if this is what feels best, but this choice does not and should not mean that you are taking a separatist position (i.e. saying that overall economic/social change will come only if women totally separate themselves from men, thus causing male power to topple.)

This is one of the common flaws in the thinking of parts of the white women's movement and of individual white women; and it is one of the major reasons that feminists of color see most white feminists as being naive and self-serving. White feminists with separatist leanings (acknowledged or unacknowledged) fail to see that it is only by virtue of their position as the supposed "mates" and supporters of white men, who hold nearly all economic, social, and political power, that their separatism possibly threatens to break this power by undermining its support. It is not recognized that it would be dangerous for most women of color to separate from men of color, because it is only together

that they can fight their shared oppression of racism and often of poverty. Separatism is not a practical strategy for most women of color because it puts them in a position of vulnerability to threats from sources that white women are not confronted with in their lives. White feminists generally fail to see the complexity of women of color's lives, fail to see that there are issues other than those of sexist discrimination that women of color of necessity must address.

Reactionary, not very well thought out positions sometimes seem to color the entire tone of the women's movement. If these attitudes were all that the movement consisted of and had the potential for, I know that I, for one, would not be a part of it. The women's movement and feminist theory are definitely lacking in a lot of ways right now; they have not gone far enough. More theoretical work needs to be done, especially on the ways in which racism scars people, including white people, in a manner similar to yet different from the ways

suspicious of us as potential and actual wielders of this privilege.

White feminists can still work to eliminate all the ways in which they manifest racist power and consciousness, in order that they can be sensitive enough to be able to make links with women of color to deal with our common oppression as women. But since the factors which contribute to the total oppression of women of color are different from the factors that contribute to the oppression of white women, the overall ways in which we fight our oppression will be different.

Even though racism does not oppress white women in the same direct economic and social way that it affects women of color, white feminists must fight against it, not only for the benefit of people of color, but also to free themselves of its dehumanizing effects. White women and women of color must fight racism from the different points in the racial power structure that they have been situated in. Just as feminists generally are



in which sexism scars people. Feminist theory needs to be expanded to account more completely for the realities of all peoples' lives.

The appearance of so many articles, letters to feminist newspapers, books, and conversations among feminists which address the issue of racism, all indicate a new recognition of racism as a central concern of the Women's movement. Even white feminists are beginning to recognize that racism in the movement must be seriously addressed and that its concerns must be expanded to include the issues important to women of color, not as a way of "saving face" for the movement, but as something that must be dealt with if anyone in the world is going to survive the coming years, if the rapid decline in world economic and social events is going to be turned around.

White feminists are starting to see that even as they move out of their initial reactionary commitments to feminism, their racist thoughts and actions do not subside. What happens is that as their general understanding of themselves as people grows, their awareness of patterns of racist reaction in themselves increases. This heightened ability to see their own racism allows white women to notice how it limits them and prevents them from achieving any further personal freedom. It is at this point that white feminists can begin to seriously and productively examine how they passively take advantage of the power that they have been given over people of color, and recognize the ways in which they can stop wielding this power.

Realistically, the immediate result of these struggles is not going to be total "sisterhood" between all women of color and white women. Racial oppression and gender oppression are concrete existing conditions that we will all hold some relationship to, whether that of oppressed or oppressor, until they cease to exist. White feminists (including myself) can only in a very, very removed way imagine making cooperative alliances with all men as a group, or the day that women and men will be equal and we won't have to be wary and mistrusting of them. But we must also realize that as long as an economic/social order which is racist as well as sexist exists, white women automatically are in a racially determined position of privilege over women of color. Until racism is finally gone, women of color should be

careful about how much they "assist" men in coming to understand their sexism, people of color who are anti-racists set, and ought to set limits on how much they educate white people about their racism. The responsibility of the oppressed group should be to articulate how they experience their oppression; after that, it is the responsibility of individuals to come to an understanding of the complex interaction of conditions in which they find themselves.

The danger lies in ranking the oppressions.

The danger lies in failing to acknowledge the specificity of the oppression. The danger lies in attempting to deal with oppression purely from a theoretical base. Without an emotional, heart-felt grappling with the source of our own oppression, without naming the enemy within ourselves and outside of us, no authentic, non-hierarchical connection among oppressed groups can take place.

-Cherrie Moraga, "La Guer" in *This Bridge Called My Back*, pg. 29. ■

Thanks to all the women, especially in the Wesleyan Women's Studies Program, who brought to my attention some of the new books on women of color. Thanks also to all the women who have thought these things before me.

## Further readings

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"As if living in the sewer, learning in the streets and working in the pantry were not enough of a burden for millions of American Negroes, I now learn that we've caught matriarchy and the 'tangle of pathology.'"

— James Farmer

by MICHELE COLLISON

For decades, American social scientists have been trying to outdo one another with their studies of the Black family. Every conceivable crack and crevice of Black family life has been poked and pried, analyzed, and finally set into socially significant statistical tables. Alas, all these studies were not conducted for charitable purposes. These scientists were not championing the Black cause, or even trying to win minor social reforms for the Blacks, but were instead hell-bent on proving that the Black was deviant. Obviously, this was necessary to somehow justify how Blacks were still outside the mainstream of American society even though they had been present at its birth some three centuries earlier.

The sociological studies that were conducted are reminiscent of the nineteenth century "scientific studies that proved" that Blacks were naturally inferior. According to the social darwinist theories of the day, Blacks were of inferior biological stock, had smaller brains than did whites, and were assumed to have limited learning abilities.



World Mag./cpf

# Sociologists "Examine" the Black Family

## Blaming the Victim Once Again

Most scientists have since abandoned such blatantly racist attacks and have instead resorted to a much subtler tactic. This involves attributing a condition resulting from an oppressive society to the victim himself. For instance, portraying broken homes as a characteristic of Negro life, instead of their being the result of a combination of oppressive external practices.

William Ryan, in his book, *Savage Discovery*, calls this practice "Blaming the Victim," focusing on the victim's "deviance" instead of the conditions responsible for the victim's predicament.

To support their assertions that Black family life is pathological and deviant, these scientists reach back into slavery to implicate the slave family. Apparently, these slaves would not even conceive of a family life if the master did not suggest it. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, author of the *Moynihan Report*, insisted that "the experience of slavery left as its most serious heritage a steady weakness in the Negro family." "There was no marriage in slave families (it was illegal); husbands could be sold from their wives, children from parents." In other words, this type of environment militated against the stability of family life; slaves subject to the whims of their masters could not form stable marriages.

Herbert G. Gutman, in *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom*, cites considerable evidence to dispute this assertion. Gutman finds evidence of enduring unions with children, despite the threat of slavery. In fact the most striking conclusion to come of his book is that Black families emerge from slavery intact, despite the whims of their masters.

Not content with blaming slaves for the pathological condition of Black family life, these sociologists and historians follow the Blacks through Reconstruction and their migrations to the cities in the twenties, bemoaning the fact that the "old order between slave and master had broken down." Scholars

such as Stampp, Moynihan and Frazier were of the opinion that in the institution of slavery, the "patriarchal" slave master imparted the sacred values of Western culture to his slaves. This literature implies, then, that the Black slaves were little more than passive children, incapable of making decisions, passively waiting to be taught by their masters.

As the Blacks left the stagnant South to seek "better opportunities up North", Franklin E. Frazier predicted that "They will crowd the slum areas of the Southern cities or make their way to northern cities where their family life will become disrupted and their poverty will force them to depend on charity." No mention is made of discrimination, the Jim Crow laws, the unemployment that would force these Blacks into the slum areas.

Some forty years later, sociologists such as Nathan Glazer, Moynihan and Kenneth Clark maintained that Frazier's grim prediction had come true: the Negro family was falling apart! They pointed to the evidence-alarming numbers of broken homes. The Negro mother was a matriarch who castrated her husband who in turn served as a poor role model for his illegitimate children. Moynihan insisted "that the matriarchal pattern of so many negro families reinforces itself over the generations." Kenneth Clark agreed with him:

*The male cannot support his normal desire for dominance, the Negro male was driven to seek status in ways which seem either antisocial, escapist or socially irresponsible. The pressure to find relief from his intolerable psychological position seems directly related to the continued incidence of desertions and broken homes in Negro ghettos.*

*The Negro woman has in turn been required to hold the family together. Her compensating strength tended to perpetuate the weaker role of the father.*

Perhaps the only thing that was perpetuated was the prevalent stereotypes of Blacks in America. Instead of describing the culture of Blacks these authors have simply attributed the results of the victims' poverty (illegitimacy, low educational achievement) to the victims themselves.

—Never mind that America's welfare policies drive fathers out of households (stipulations requiring no man in the house), these scientists conclude that Black men are simply irresponsible fathers. Never mind that the unemployment rate for Black men is twice as high as it is for white men, the verdict is that Black men are shiftless and lazy. Never mind trying to reform the existing social structure to provide a more equitable distribution of income and welfare, these scientists insist that America must save the Black family, reform it, bring it in line with American society by making it a middle-class nuclear family.

What these sociologists don't tell their readers when despairing over the black family's fate is that they describe only one-quarter of Black families. Moreover, they also fail to include statistics that show that all poor families, whether white or Black have a high degree of disintegration, illegitimacy, etc. Obviously, these are not characteristics that one can arbitrarily assign to Blacks.

These sociologists are trying to judge Blacks by the norms of middle-class America; they simply won't apply. Instead, the facts emerge distorted rather than demonstrating how an oppressed minority has tried to adapt to conditions in order to survive. "Matriarchy, Tangle of Pathology." Black families don't need this kind of moralizing, nor descriptions of diseases sociologists believe they've caught. They need food, jobs, and decent housing. Maybe then, they can start to achieve the pathological effects of middle-class life—divorce, illegitimacy, broken homes . . . ■

## Editorial

# Rethinking

## “Different”

To deny that differences exist between Blacks and whites is an irresponsible approach to racism. This denial runs counter to everything we see, hear, or think. Even the most “liberal minded” of us, especially the most “liberal minded” of us, should see that there are differences, that 8% is different from 76%, that a Black student is expected to represent “what the Blacks think”, and that those differences, along with many others, are the kinds that a Black student must face.

Which is not to say that Wesleyan is a pit of racial enmity. Indeed, the white student body is always quick to support the Black whenever there is a crisis, by holding a rally, and expressing its concern over the dinner table or in a letter. But the fact is that aside from times of crisis, though there are exceptions, the problem of racism is pretty much forgotten. We might pause to think about whether a crisis community is a community at all, or whether it is merely the way in which affluent, white, liberal thinking students exorcise their guilt for being affluent, white, and merely liberal thinking, the way the inactive come to think that they are active.

Maybe we should think about the force of the word “different.” In itself, it seems harmless and merely denotes that things are not the same, no values attached, no better or worse. But how difficult it is not to judge! And with our judgments come better and worse. Who can be honest in their judgments and understand themselves deeply enough to understand their values, especially when speaking of black and white?

Some of us know oppression, fewer of us live oppression. And fewer still have had, in their people’s history, their value determined on an auction block. Whether we are in touch with it or not, our past shapes our present, leaving us with an inheritance of anger, pity, shame, and hatred. We don’t leave “different” in its pure form, but forever attach to it our own histories. And so in rethinking “different”, we must look at ourselves and how “different” can distort our experience of race.

Our understanding of the world is as fragile as it lacks substance. Close thought will reveal that myths enter our minds as easily as facts. These myths, like all social myths generated by a system with prejudice at its roots, endure and shape our political world. The most striking thing about them, though, is that they survive because of a lack of desire to find out what the situation really is, to whom, and why; they survive because of the complacency of self-satisfaction, the *New York Times* and bumpersticker approach to world knowledge. Fed with slogans and rhetoric, the roots and connections of the whole problem become obscure.



Who knows enough about themselves and how they are shaped to say they have it all figured out?

Together, we must strive to understand what the differences really are, and in the process, transcend them. We must not become fixated on these differences, but use our awareness of them to strive for a better world. We must begin by looking into ourselves - can we distinguish the lies from the truths?

These are different, too.